1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging village might have to send for one from some distance. He worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received. He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate representations, which might take months to produce. Reports mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin, cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter. The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and also to work spells on their own behalf.

Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes, and all the property they could afford to bet on the game. They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which sounds like "harlequinade." [1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

557 574 533 was a regular system of gift partners who alternately sang for and paid each other. All such men in the host village gave their names, knowing that their partners would do the same for them next year. Now and then a new man would volunteer, either because he had acquired relatives-in-law among the challengers or merely because he hoped to establish friendly relations. Sometimes one who was dissatisfied with the gifts he had been receiving would drop out.

When the names had been decided upon, the hosts sent four of their elders to the camp of the visitors, to act as censors of the songs and to reject any that did not please them. These elders sat in a row beside the singers of the visitors. A selected man from the visitors, whom we may call the prompter, sat in front of the row. It was his business to remember the names as they were presented and to remind the singers the next day. This was a responsible task, since there might be twenty or thirty names and all must be mentioned in order of their importance. The device used was that of a number of sticks, each representing a particular name.

A boy arrived from the host village, bearing the first two sticks, for names were always "sung for" in pairs. He threw one stick down before the prompter, saying: "Sing for So-and-So." The prompter replied: "I have heard, friend!" Then the boy threw down the other stick in the same way and the prompter, fingering the sticks, repeated the two names until he had fixed them in his memory. Meanwhile the singers behind him decided which of their songs would fit the names. They tried over several, and then sang the one selected. The delegates from the host village listened, and if they thought the words inappropriate, they objected. The singers tried over their repertoire, altering to suit the case, until they had a song that was acceptable.

Meanwhile another boy had arrived, with two more sticks, and the same process was gone through. The prompter, who had memorized the names, kept all the sticks and used them as a mnemonic device the next day. The names must appear in a certain order; shamans first, then the keeper of the smoke, then warriors, then elders. The prompter kept the sticks tied together in this order.

When the songs had been decided upon, the singers might practice a whole day before they presented their performance, many

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

KNOWLEDGE AND TEACHING

868 Beside the crafts already mentioned, Papago knowledge included some techniques in counting, measuring and time reckoning. Any individual knew the measurements connected with his craft and those who had older relatives versed in history or star lore [576] might pick up these also. But for a young person to question an older one was considered forward and discourteous so one desiring to learn merely haunted the society of an older relative until information was offered. If he had no relative with the desired knowledge, his chances of learning were small, since prolonged contacts with people outside the family were few.

COUNTING AND MEASURING

802 Papago has words for the numbers up to ten; the one for ten ● 211 definitely meaning "all the fingers". Other numbers are expressed as multiples of ten. For 100, the Spanish word *cien* is used. The Papago, in ancient times, rarely counted as high as this, nor had they a word for it. The expression which indicated counting was "to cut the notches" or "to lay down the sticks". This was done when making an appointment more than the ritual four days ahead. Ten, twelve or sixteen were the usual numbers, indicated by a stick with the proper number of notches or a bundle of small sticks. The recipient marked off a notch every day until the proper time or stood the sticks up in a row and laid one down each day.

802 In scoring for games, the Papago, according to Culin, used as 211 much as 100 grains of corn[1] but they need not count to 100. Both 524 sides drew from a common pile, uncounted and, when this was exhausted, played until one side had acquired all the corn of the other. In this way, even several hundred grains could be used without the necessity of naming the numbers.

802 Another occasion for counting was when one village "sang for" 211 another and every householder among the singers had to receive a gift. On the night before the ceremony, the singers sent to their hosts a bundle of sticks representing the household heads in their party who might be as many as thirty or forty. However, they were not necessarily counted. The messenger connected a name with each stick and in the council meeting of the hosts, he held the sticks

[1] Culin, p. 354.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

up one by one shouting the names and presenting them to the proper gift partners. Each stick recalled to him the name of a particular individual, a difficult form of mnemonics for Whites, but the Papago, trained in memorizing by rote, did not consider it as hard as abstract counting. Something like the same process may be observed today when an Indian, in trading at the store, points to an article, pays for it and gets the change before dealing with the next one.

The Papago word now used for *count* is kwint, obviously from the Spanish *cuentar*. But the writer, in studying a Spanish grammar of the Lower Pima,[1] was puzzled to find a Pima word which was translated count. After much conference with Papagos, it was decided that the word was *ha kiwikitat*, to whip them continually, and seemed to have been derived from the counting of strokes under the Spanish punishment system.

MEASURES

Dry measure was calculated by the basketful. The basket bowl, the winnowing basket and the carrying basket were roughly standard sizes and all had various decorative lines parallel to the rim by which fractions of their content could be measured. In measuring quantities for trade, however, both parties to the bargain used the same basket so they could be sure of equal measure.

For linear measure, parts of the body were used. Women, in making a basket, took as a unit the handbreatdh: the distance between the outstretched thumb and forefinger. Half a handbreadth was the length of the first finger and "less than a handbreadth" the distance between thumb and first finger. For more exactitude, the worker used the distances between various fingertips, with the hand outstretched.

Men measured the length of wood for a bow by the distance from the tip of the second finger to the breast bone, when the arm was stretched forward. The arrow should be as long as the space between the hands when pulling the bow string. Lengths of rope were measured by the distance between the fingertips when the arms were outspread or, for short ropes, the distance from elbow to wrist.

CEREMONIAL NUMBERS AND DIRECTIONS

The Papago ceremonial number is four and four is continually used whenever small amounts are thought of. Possibly, in former

[1] Grammar of the Pima or Nevome, a language of Sonora, from a manuscript of the XVIII Century. Edited by Buckingham Smith, 1862.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

821 Maiden at Puberty with Instructors:— a semi-circle of stars with one bright one in the middle; the Pestle: — two stars horizontal, two vertical; Flock of quail: — a cluster of small stars; the North Star, called the Unmoving Star: — it is the stopper for the hole in the sky through which Buzzard took refuge in the flood.

211 [868] 805 173 Papago youth were taught the tribal traditions by listening to the official narrators who told them as often as asked during the winter months, but always during the "four days" of the winter solstice. Beside this ancient history the record of recent events was kept on a calendar stick similar to that recorded for the Pima.[1]

The first entry is in "the year the world went wrong": 1839 while the facturis of Sonora were at war and the southern Papago settlements were broken up. The man who began it was a boy at the time and was "startled" by the catastrophe; so cut a notch in a stick to remember it. However, the earliest Pima stick known had been begun in 1833 so that he may have had model to suggest the idea. The Papago stick was kept first at Standing Rock, then at San Xavier, and there were, besides, one at Anegam and possibly others. Keeping a stick was entirely a personal venture, undertaken by anyone who had enterprise and memory for the task. The keeper stored it in his own house and passed it down to any male descendant capable of memorizing its record.

The San Xavier calendar stick is a length of cactus rib, six feet long and with notches cut on its flat side about an inch apart. Each notch represents a year and is cut after the liquor ceremony which inaugurates the rainy season and the Papago year. In the space between the notches, the keeper of the stick marks any crude device which occurs to him as a means of memorizing the year's events. [386] The symbols are roughly incised and colored with red and blue, made from red clay and greasewood soot. A few simple signs have been worked out, such as a puncture in the middle of the space, representing the quadrennial harvest ceremony and a scratch at the side, meaning a death. Otherwise the symbols are the personal invention of the maker and his successor must learn them by heart.

The San Xavier stick was, until twenty years ago, at Standing Rock in the keeping of the man who began it. He frequently [764] recited its record and some of the older men learned it. At his death, his widow broke the stick and threw it away as a ceremonial act, but two San Xavier men rescued the pieces and copied them. The present custodian is the son-in-law of one of these two, the son having been unable to memorize the symbols. The custodian, in

[1] Russell, pp. 34—38.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

reciting the history of the stick, uses the technique of the origin myth: he begins at the beginning and proceeds straight through, without interruption and using as many nights as are necessary. It was by hearing such recitals that he himself learned the record. The writer negotiated with him for pauses at certain points when questions might be asked but he found it very difficult to remember under such circumstances. Papago etiquette requires that the learner shall never interrupt.

173 211 805 [576]

MEMORIZING

Akin to the learning of the calendar record is the learning of rituals. These, as mentioned above, are passed down by their owners to chosen male relatives but when no relative is available, the council itself may ask that a stranger be instructed. The method of instruction is for the teacher to recite the whole ritual through as many times as needed and then for the learner to say it all through. This sounds difficult but there are certain aids to memory in that the directions are always mentioned in order, every episode occurs four times and there are standard poetic phrases always recurring in specific connections. Still, learning a long ritual by this process may take a year.

153 211 869

Understanding the ritual is a separate accomplishment, not possessed by all. The writer found some old men who had spent years in thinking over their memorized material and discussing it with others. But this had been done after the learning was finished: while in the position of pupil, they had no right to ask questions and many of them had never done so. As a result they had learned by rote not only archaic words but misplaced words, and could not understand their own ritual. The habit of learning by heart, with the meaning a secondary consideration and questions forbidden, is to be considered in the teaching of Papagos in modern schools. The doubt and analysis to which White children are conditioned, even before school age, are absent in Papago attitudes and must be taught in school, not taken for granted.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

175
794 and elements of Catholicism were incorporated by the people themselves into the whole set of existing religious and ceremonial practices.

175 In addition to domestic animals and crops, which permitted an easier existence in the desert, and a brief glimpse of the Catholic religion, the Papago took from the whites during this period two social institutions, the governor and the whipping post.[10] It is probable that the Papago villages had had headmen before the arrival of the Spaniards, and they certainly had ceremonial leaders, but concentration of power in one official as the Spaniards knew it was alien to Papago character; hence the appointed governors had little power. Whippings were administered as often for violations of Papago ceremonial tradition as for offenses against Spanish law. In any case, the basic institutions of the Papago—the family and the village—were untouched by anything introduced from Spain.

It was the thirty years of revolution which culminated in Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, rather than direct Spanish social influence, that brought about the farthest reaching changes in the Desert People. In the southern part of the present Reservation area, these years, as Underhill remarks, "involved as much change for the Papago as the century preceding. There was skirmishing in Papago country; Papagos were given guns, horses and food for their help against counter revolutionists and against the Apache; Papago villages were broken up and there was racial intermixture. This affected only the south of the area, part of which is now in Mexico. But where it occurred, it was a potent factor in breaking up residence, causing the loss of clan affiliations and even of clan names and the abandonment of ceremonies because there were no longer villages to conduct them. It seems to have been at this period that the southerners began to build Mexican houses of wattle and daub."[11]

• [211] In the northern part of Papaguería there was not much change until contacts with Americans began. On a calendar stick[12] is mentioned a "war with Mexicans" in 1842[13] and several raids by Apache, but the Gadsden Purchase in 1854 went almost unnoticed, the Indians scarcely realizing that their land was being cut through by a border survey. For almost two decades they were largely unaware that they had officially become "Americans."

10. This paragraph and the following are largely from Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 201 ff.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

12. A narrow stick, a yard or more long, on which are carved geometric designs to remind the owner of specific events. Usually one outstanding event of each year is recorded, but some years are not represented. The stick referred to here was recorded by Mrs. L. C. Bennett from a man at Covered Wells, who inherited it and its story from his grandfather.

13. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas*, p. 659.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

relation of the sun to the gap of the Sierra Estrella, the chief purpose being to determine the latest period at which it was possible to plant crops and have them mature before frost. Chico Bailey said his grandfather relied upon the position of the rising sun with reference to a certain point on Baboquivari Mountain to determine when it was too late to plant; also that the Papagos at Pisinemo used a similar spot in the Ajo Mountains for the same purpose.

Tribal Papago traditions were passed on by word of mouth from official narrators to the youths. While these tales might be told at any time upon request, particularly in winter months, the creation myth was always formally and officially related during the sacred four-day solstice period. Pima and Papago annals, in reality records of important events, were kept on a stick variously notched or carved to designate special happenings.[7]

PLANTING

Time and Number of Plantings

Wherever any group of Pimans anciently pursued agriculture based upon irrigation from more or less permanently running streams or springs, planting was begun as soon as possible after danger of frost had passed, contingent upon an available supply of water at such time. But among all those Pimans who were dependent upon flood water from the washes the time of the single planting was governed entirely by the occurrence of summer rains, which usually began at any time from late June to mid-July. Aboriginally, groups having a rather constant supply of running water usually made two plantings, the first when danger of frost was past and the ground warm enough for seed germination, the second sometime after sahuaro harvest, depending upon the availability of water for irrigation, but rarely any later than mid-August because of danger from early frosts. Thus, in

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-36; Underhill, *A Papago Calendar Record;* Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-66.